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THE WORLD TOMORROW

The New Deal After Ten Weeks

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Pacific School of Religion
Berkeley, Calif.

Why Gandhi Fasts Again

RICHARD B. GREGG

Austria's Alternatives

H. N. BRAILSFORD

The Continental Congress

DEVERE ALLEN

JUNE, 1933

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Albert Schweitzer, Ph.D., Mus.D., D.D., M.D.

Out of My Life and Thought, An Autobiography. By Albert Schweitzer. Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

ONE of the most versatile of living men, Albert Schweitzer has achieved eminence as philosopher, theologian, musician, physician and missionary. More remarkable even is the lofty quality of his own personality. Surely he must be ranked with the giants of all ages.

At the age of five he began taking music lessons, at seven improvised original harmonies, at nine played as organist at a regular church service, and at 16 was so overpowered by hearing *Tannhäuser* "that it was days before I was capable of giving proper attention to the lessons in school." In time he came to be recognized as the greatest interpreter of Bach, achieved renown as an organist, and wrote an authoritative volume on organ-building.

A dozen distinguished volumes assure Dr. Schweitzer an enduring place as philosopher and theologian, although at the Gymnasium he "was at first a poor scholar" and "in language and mathematics it cost me an effort to accomplish anything." A splendid physique, enabling him often to work all night, is in part responsible for his prodigious accomplishments.

To the consternation of his friends, at the age of 30 he decided to take a regular medical course, preparatory to his new life as a medical missionary in Africa. By chance he happened upon an article by Miss Scherdlin in a missionary magazine on "The Needs of the Congo Mission." In interpreting his reasons for this momentous decision, Dr. Schweitzer says: "It struck me as incomprehensible that I should be allowed to lead such a happy life, while I saw so many people around me wrestling with care and suffering." The need of Africa was abysmal and the functions of a physician offered abundant opportunity for direct human service. After seven years of medical preparation, this doctor of music and philosophy and theology and medicine, sailed with his wife on March 26, 1913, for equatorial Africa. For a time it appeared that he would not be accepted by the mission board because of objections to his theological beliefs presented by certain orthodox supporters of the mission. Although one member of the committee sent in his resignation, Schweitzer was finally accepted, on the understanding that he would do no preaching and "would avoid everything that could cause offense to the missionaries and their converts in their belief."

AT Lambaréné, his first consulting-room was an old chicken-house. At once he was besieged with sick people, and the strain upon the new doctor was terrific. For two years unceasingly streams of afflicted human beings flowed through the primitive wards. Then in that distant region the doctor was arrested as a prisoner of war. He was soon released and permitted to resume his practice, but in September, 1917, he was deported to Europe and interned in a prison-camp. In July, 1918, he and his wife were released and permitted to return to Strassburg. The accumulation of heavy debts incurred in behalf of his mission and the necessity of securing funds with which to carry forward his work made it necessary for Dr. Schweitzer to remain in Europe until 1924, when he returned to his station in Africa.

In a remarkable epilogue the writer summarizes his philosophy of life and again develops his fundamental thesis of Reverence for Life. "Two perceptions cast their shadows over my existence. One consists in my realization that the world is inexplicably mysterious and full of suffering; the other in the fact that I have been born into a period of spiritual decadence in mankind. . . . To the question whether I am a pessimist or an optimist, I answer that my knowledge is pessimistic, but my willing and hoping are optimistic. . . . It seemed to me a matter of course that we should all take our share of the burden of pain which lies upon the world. . . . Because I have confidence in the power of truth and of the spirit, I believe in the future of mankind." Few men of this generation are doing more to transform spiritual decadence into spiritual vitality than the brilliant and mystical doctor of Lambaréné.

K. P.

THE WORLD TOMORROW

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THE WORLD TOMORROW

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Hitler Tells the World

A valid interpretation of Hitler's significance in international affairs is made difficult by uncertainty as to whether he should be judged by his conciliatory address on Thursday or by his earlier utterances and deeds. The attitude of liberals and radicals toward Germany is necessarily twofold. That she was cruelly victimized at Versailles is beyond question. Her people have been subjected to excrutiating indignities and appalling miseries. On the other hand, the seizure of power by her most chauvinistic and bellicose elements, and the horrible excesses committed by the Nazis, have subjected Germany to a degree of moral and political isolation now equalled only by that of Japan. Foreign sympathizers with the German masses are confronted with the unpleasant dilemma that support of Germany in the present crisis is likely to strengthen Hitler and to prolong the period of his tyrannical suppression of democratic and radical movements directed toward the creation of an equalitarian state. Whether the German people have suffered more as a result of French oppression than they are destined to endure at the hands of the Nazis is extremely doubtful. All this renders difficult a fair appraisal of Hitler's speech.

That the Nazi chieftain was more conciliatory than had been anticipated is universally acknowledged. He made categorical assertion that "no new European war could replace the present unsatisfactory conditions by something better. On the contrary! Neither politically nor economically could the application of any kind of violence in Europe produce a more favorable situation than that existing today." Any intention of seeking treaty revision by warlike means is disclaimed, as is also the desire to "Germanize" Poles or other peoples. The assertion is made that "Germany would be ready without further ado to dissolve its whole military establishment and destroy the scanty remnant of arms left it if neighboring nations unreservedly do the same. . . . Germany is ready at any time to renounce aggressive weapons if the whole world also bans them." Agreement in principle with the MacDonald plan, with Mussolini's proposals, and with Roosevelt's suggestions is expressed.

Nevertheless, the Nazi orator is adamant at the point of complete equality for Germany. The stigma of war guilt must be removed and Germany restored to equal rank with other great powers. Emphatic insistence is placed upon "at least a qualitative equality" of armaments. Germany is willing to wait five years for complete equality if granted the right to possess at least a few weapons in all classes of armaments. If by that time, however, other nations fail to disarm to her level, warning is given that Germany will arm. Moreover, if the disarmament conference fails to grant equality to Germany, her representatives will leave the conference and Germany will withdraw from the League of Nations. Efforts to impose sanctions upon Germany would be regarded as cancelling the Treaty of Versailles and restoring to her freedom of action.

It Is Now Up to France

The people of France must now make up their minds quickly whether they want security or chaos. If the French government rejects Germany's demand for qualitative equality of armaments immediately and substantial equality without undue delay, and resists the latter's efforts to secure a pacific revision of the economic and political status quo in Europe, that continent will be plunged into unimaginable misery. Without Hitler's coöperation there is no chance whatever of achieving success at the disarmament conference or at the world economic gathering. Further efforts on France's part to keep Germany under heel can lead only to war or chaos or both.

It is imperative that the French people realize that actual security or the sense of security can never be achieved by reliance upon armaments. The French armed establishment at this moment is incomparably superior to that of her vanquished foe, and France, moreover, is enormously strengthened by military alliances with powerfully armed neighbors. Under such circumstances invasion of French territory could be accomplished only by an enemy possessing huge quantities of modern instruments of warfare. But, as was emphasized by Hitler, "precisely these modern offensive weapons Germany does not possess at all—neither heavy artillery, nor tanks, nor bombing planes, nor poison gases. The only nation whose fear of invasion can really be justified is Germany, who not only has been denied weapons of aggression, but even forbidden to construct border defenses." No nation in modern times has possessed such a vast preponderance of fighting strength as France now enjoys. In addition she is further fortified by the Locarno treaties, in which Great Britain and Italy agree to come to her armed assistance if invaded by Germany. Yet the French people are desperately afraid!

America Must Make Another Move

There is reason to believe that President Roosevelt will shortly supplement his address to the rulers with more concrete proposals, which will help to reduce France's fears and thus increase her willingness to recognize Germany's right to equality. Formal announcement of a readiness to sign a general consultative pact binding our government to enter into conference with other governments in times of crisis would be warmly welcomed in Paris, and the quicker such a statement is made, the more effective it will be. Such a commitment is a logical corrolary to a non-aggression pact, and hesitancy on the part of the United States to take this advance step might prove fatal.

A consultative pact by itself will not fully satisfy France. Military sanctions are ardently desired by the French government, but it would be supreme folly for the United States to enter into any kind of armed alliance, even of the Locarno type. It is neither desirable nor politically practicable for this country to support France in this way. Willingness to confer and to take appropriate non-military action in an emergency is, however, the least that we can consistently do if we desire France to abandon armed domination of Germany.

Immediate ratification of the protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice by the United States is urgently demanded as visible evidence of the abandonment of the policy of attempted isolation and of the determination to participate fully in all constructive efforts toward world peace. More and more complete coöperation with the League of Nations should pave the way for formal entrance into the League within the near future.

A reversal of our traditional attitude toward war debts is essential to the success of the world economic conference, and the most disturbing news that has come from Washington in recent weeks is to the effect that the President has no intention of asking Congress for power to make adjustments of the war debts. The assertion cannot be made too frequently or too bluntly that further efforts on our part to collect any considerable proportion of the debts will have utterly calamitious economic and political effects.

A Revolutionary Proposal

One aspect of President Roosevelt's communication to the rulers of the nations possesses immense potential significance, namely, his proposal that the nations agree that "they will send no armed force of whatsoever nature across their frontiers." If this suggestion should be incorporated into a multilateral treaty and ratified by the various governments of the earth, such action would revolutionize international relations. The outlawry of the use of armed force would close the gap in the Briand-Kellogg treaty, which merely renounces "war as an instrument of national policy" and leave every nation free to send armed troops into foreig territory if deemed necessary in self-defense. The fac cannot be stressed too frequently that former Secretar Kellogg is himself responsible in considerable part fo the weakness of the treaty that bears his name, becaus he explicitly said that the right of self-defense is no affected by the pact and that each nation alone is com petent to decide when armed action is required to pro tect the property and lives of its citizens. It is through this loophole that Japan is now driving a major wa in North China, while solemnly asserting that she i not violating the Pact of Paris.

If the nations will ratify an agreement that "they will send no armed force of whatsoever nature acros their frontiers," it will no longer be possible for gov ernments to convince their own citizens that punitive expeditions or acts of armed aggression are legitimate and legal measures of self-defense. Needless to say the existence of such a treaty in 1929 would have compelled the government of Japan to have adopted an entirely different strategy in enlisting public support for the seizure of Chinese territory. There would remain the possibility, of course, that a nation would deliberately resort to armed aggression without pretense that such action is in self-defense, but the difficulties confronting such a power would thereby be enormously aggravated.

The implied effects of the President's proposal upon the foreign policy of the United States should not be overlooked. If taken seriously it would, of course, mean the abandonment of the policy of armed intervention in Latin America. Thereafter American marines could not legally be sent to Nicaragua, Haiti or elsewhere for any purpose whatever. The logic of this suggestion would also necessitate the recall of our marines now stationed in China, although the right to maintain such a garrison possesses treaty status.

The conditions which surround the proposal of President Roosevelt tend to diminish its significance. The suggestion that armed intervention be renounced is made to depend upon the ratification of a universal non-aggression pact, the reduction of armaments, and the faithful observance of obligations. The incorporation of these provisions in a treaty would make it easy for a nation to resort to armed action on the ground that good faith had not been shown and that the agreement had not been adhered to.

Moreover, emphasis must be placed upon the fact that the renunciation of armed intervention would not in itself remove the menace of war. Many of the explosive causes of international friction must be removed, and the machinery of pacific adjustment of international controversies must be strengthened before genuine security for the various nations can be achieved. Nevertheless, the President's proposal possesses incalculable potential significance.

War in the Chaco

Almost a year ago El Gran Chaco made its first appearance in the headlines. Bolivia and Paraguay enjoyed the limelight for a brief time, but were soon crowded out of the news by nearer and more familiar problems. On May 10, however, the declaration of war by Paraguay again brought this crisis to the fore and made the world realize that through all these months guerilla warfare had been going on and fifty thousand lives sacrificed, in spite of the efforts of neutral commissions to prevent it.

As far as the Chaco is concerned, the situation is not changed by having a war called a war, but the declaration has created a new situation. The League of Nations is now confronted with the necessity of dealing with its first openly declared war, and the countries of South America are forced to define more clearly their positions. Neutrality has been proclaimed by the neighboring countries, but for both Chile and Argentina the situation is far from simple. According to the Treaty of 1904, shipments for Bolivia are guaranteed free transit through Chilean territory. Chile, however, contends that the agreement is purely a commercial one and does not prevent an embargo on war materials—an interpretation Bolivia refuses to accept and which if maintained will intensify the feeling between the two countries. To Bolivia this stand on the part of Chile is not a neutral one, since it imprisons Bolivia and thus strengthens Paraguay's position.

The complexity of the problem is due to the fact that the two countries are not fighting for the same end. To Paraguay the war is one of defense of her land, and one of aggression on the part of Bolivia. From her point of view the problem is the settling of a boundary line which should be handled legally by an International Court of Arbitration. But for Bolivia it is the question of territory. Ever since Chile took her port in 1879 she has felt shut in, cramped and stifled, and she is determined to find a port on the Paraguay River to give her a connection with the Atlantic if the Pacific is to be denied her. If the entire Chaco is taken into consideration, as Bolivia wishes, it means including land legally granted to Paraguay by the Hayes Treaty after the war of the Triple Alliance, when the Rio Pilcomayo was made the boundary line between Argentina and Paraguay. Both countries, however, are united on one fundamental point, namely, that the problem of the Chaco must be settled now, once and for all, no matter what sacrifices may be involved.

The United States has a responsibility to help make effective any method which may be evolved to achieve a settlement, if it cares about the good will of the countries of South America. For rightly or wrongly, the people of Paraguay and those of countries which are sympathetic to that nation believe that United States interests have been backing Bolivia, and that it is in part because of this support that Bolivia has relied upon warfare rather than on arbitration. In addition, there is a responsibility toward Bolivia which goes back to the days when the United States was arbitrator in the Tacna-Arica dispute. Had Bolivia's request for consideration of her rights to a port on the Pacific not been ignored at that time, the present situation might be a different one, for undoubtedly the sense of being hedged in on all sides plays psychologically as large a part in Bolivia's ambitions for the Chaco as the economic problem of finding a means to facilitate transportation of oil.

The Attempt at Gag Rule in Illinois

One of the most reactionary and foolish measures which have ever been proposed in an American legislature was recently passed by the Illinois Senate by a vote of 29 to five. It provides that any educational institution which teaches "sedition" shall, if it is a publicly supported body, have all state funds withdrawn from it, and if it is under private management, shall have its educational property taxed. No definition is given of sedition, and we may be sure that if this bill becomes law, attempts will be made to cripple or put out of business any educational institution where freedom of teaching prevails. There are many in Illinois, as elsewhere, who believe that any one who advocates the recognition of Soviet Russia, the limitation of armaments, the defense of civil liberties or public ownership of utilities is "seditious." And they will try to wreak vengeance upon any institution with which such a man or woman is affiliated.

The general level of Illinois politics is such that the politicians who would administer such a law would probably be inclined to agree with them and to treat similarly any fundamental criticism of the predatory political machines and business interests which have for so long disgraced that state. It is rumored that the bill is especially designed to muzzle the University of Chicago, which has always been a free and liberal institution, but which might be forced to close its doors if its campus and buildings, devoted to the education of youth, were taxed like any profit-making institution.

If Illinois liberals care anything for freedom, they will do their best to defeat this iniquitous measure in the Lower House, or, if that fails, they will bring pressure to bear on Governor Horner to veto it. Up to date, however, that gentleman, who was elected as a great humanitarian, has been an almost total disappointment and has been under the thumb of the Democratic machine of Chicago. Even the death of Cermak did not free him, and he has since been apparently taking orders from Boss Nash and his two lieutenants, Jacob Arvey and Moe Rosenberg. It would be an ironical development for this Jewish governor to imitate Hitler, but this may well happen unless members of his race wake up. Having protested against the

tyranny of the Nazis in Germany, they would do well to protest with equal vigor against reaction under Jewish leadership at home. If Illinois is to be saved from gag rule, immediate action is needed.

The Rivera Murals

The refusal of the Rockefellers to permit Diego Rivera to complete his murals in their Radio City because he painted the figure of Lenin joining workers together throws a sharp light upon the social problem of art. Probably no one can greatly blame the Rockefellers, whose past record is one of tolerance and, in the main, so far as their lights have permitted, one of social liberalism. Probably no social or political order for some time to come will permit the subject matter of art to run counter to the accepted interests of the dominant group, and we may be sure that communism, were it to triumph, would prevent the canonization of the Rockefellers in murals.

Yet the artist who feels a given set of social values intensely will and should hold to his principles with all the strength of his soul. Thus we come to an inevitable conflict between society and the individual who is in any degree a true artist. There are, as we see it, two morals which emerge from this clash of principles. First, the artist whose values transcend those of the present order cannot be really free until that order is changed, and during the struggle he should remain in no ivory tower. Second, some day society ought to recognize the value of variety and awaken to the realization that it is as stupid for all art to exalt the same standards as it is for all books to represent the same thought, or for all men to whistle the same tune.

Quaker Radicals

From London we have received the first number of a little journal which is to be the organ of a recently-formed group of Quakers. Growing increasingly restive over the absence of a clear-cut, unified movement within the Society of Friends, though not of course speaking for it as such, a number of British Quakers formed last summer what was first labelled as the "Quaker Political Group," but which has now been designated as the "Friends for Action." Several local units of this movement have been formed in various towns throughout England, and others are under way. Something of the sort has long been needed, for the British Fellowship of Reconciliation, which in its work against war, race prejudice, and imperialism has done worth-while service, is inclined to steer clear of political expression, as is the Society of Friends itself.

Friends for Action, the new organ of the group with the same name, contains an explanatory article by Professor John Macmurray, an article by Kenneth C. Barnes on "Friends and Social Action," and another article by Claude Sutton entitled "The Need for a New Social Philosophy." The movement definitely rejects capitalism and seeks to substitute a Socialist order. Reiterating the basic Quaker aim of friendship, the leaders of this new enterprise insist that no true friendliness is possible under the present economic system. They explicitly condemn capitalism on three counts:

> 1. Because it sets a limit to our personal consistency and inevitably puts barriers between man and man.
> 2. For its motive. The provision of interest on capital is necessarily the dominant consideration, not the welfare of the workers nor the satisfaction of human needs. In face of this fact capitalism can never be Christian.
> 3. On psychological grounds, for its inability to provide men with an adequate motive for doing their best work. No reorganization of industry on a capitalist basis can ever restore to the worker the feeling that he is a vital part of society, that he is valued for himself, that he is serving and being served.

We hope that members of the Society of Friends in the United States will accept this challenge; that they, too, will give it wide discussion in their journals and conferences; and that out of their Society, which has contributed so heavily to American progress throughout our history, will emerge a strong movement of American Quaker radicalism that will work for a new economic order, an order infused with that urgent good will and freedom from bitterness which has so often been unique in the Friendly religion.

Patriotic Hoodlums

From a reliable correspondent in Los Angeles we have received details of a disgracefully successful effort by 75 men, most of them wearing American Legion caps, to break up a meeting recently called to advocate recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States. A week earlier the Legion had sponsored a meeting in the Polytechnic High School to protest against such recognition. The Board of Education granted permits for both meetings, but when the curtain went up on the second occasion, a group forced the engineer—their revolvers stuck in his ribs—to turn off the lights. The gathering was stampeded with yells, "There will be no meeting tonight." Captain Hynes and fifteen members of his infamous "red squad" were present before and during the riot and knew the rioters' plans in advance, but they made no effort to maintain order.

A subsequent request by the Friends of the Soviet Union to complete their program was denied by the Board of Education, on the ground "there would be grave danger to school property or harm or damage to persons or probably results detrimental to the best interests of the school system." Imagine the situation if "radicals" had broken up a meeting of "patriots," and the Board had then refused to permit the Legion to use the school building because of probable danger to property and life—imagine this if you can!

Pacifism in the Colleges

In the war poll sponsored by the Intercollegiate Disarmament Council, the National Student Federation and the *Brown Daily Herald,* 22,612 ballots were cast by students at 65 colleges in 27 states of the Union. Three alternatives were presented: first, the uncompromising pacifist position of refusing to fight in or support any war whatsoever; second, willingness to fight only in case of actual invasion of American soil; and third, willingness to participate in war when called on to do so by the government. Of the total number, 39 per cent voted as uncompromising pacifists, 33 per cent as being willing to participate only in case of invasion, and 28 per cent as being ready to support any war declared by their government, the respective number of votes being 8,415; 7,221 and 6,089.

The institutions with the highest number of complete pacifists were University of Cincinnati, 1,742; Tulane, 552; University of Chicago, 548; Wellesley, 405; Ohio State University, 308; Vassar, 301; Columbia, 293; Amherst, 264; Dana, 254; Smith, 250; Colgate, 236; Harvard, 221; Yale, 213. The largest number of votes for the second position of refusing to fight except in case of invasion were Chicago, 746; Columbia, 522; Miami, 514; Ohio Wesleyan, 474; Yale, 459; Harvard, 411; Brown, 410; Boston, 375; Amherst, 333.

This vote undoubtedly reveals a rising tide of pacifism in American colleges, as is also the case at Oxford and other British universities. It will be noted that 72 per cent of the persons voting indicated a refusal to fight or a willingness only in case of actual invasion, while only 28 per cent took the position which is normally regarded as the "patriotic" one.

Coming at a time when the international clouds are ominously black, this substantial growth in war resistance on the American campus is heartily to be acclaimed. Now is the time for students to stand up and be counted among those rational patriots who refuse to offer themselves as cannon fodder, but who choose to serve in ways that are genuinely patriotic.

War Resistance Leaps Ahead

The War Resisters' League held its fourth annual conference on militant pacifism at Washington, on April 22, and from every point of view achieved a highly successful meeting. Students hitch-hiked and travelled in various inexpensive ways to display their abhorrence of the war system; the sessions were well-attended, surpassing many conferences held prior to the depression; and through the negotiation of Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein of the Free Synagogue in New York, who directed much of the preliminary work on the conference, the National Broadcasting Company allotted a full hour for the broadcasting of conference speeches over a coast-to-coast hook-up. Addresses were given by Dr. Goldstein, John Nevin Sayre, Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan, Dr. John Haynes Holmes and Devere Allen.

Of especial interest, perhaps, is the fact that the great Continental Congress for Economic Reconstruction, reported elsewhere in this issue, adopted a very radical declaration against support of war or participation in it, favoring, to obstruct war and make the waging of it impossible, a general strike should other methods fail. While it is true that we lack in this country as yet the vital labor movement which alone could give unconquerable power to such a position, the introduction of it to so diverse and representative a body as the Continental Congress, and its endorsement without debate and with obvious enthusiasm, marks an extraordinary step forward.

MacLeod Goes to Nova Scotia

We are extremely sorry to announce that A. Albert MacLeod, our executive editor, is severing his connection with the magazine, in order to start a workers' school in Nova Scotia. Readers who have been close to the situation realize that Mr. MacLeod has been carrying a major share of responsibility, not only in the sphere of administration but also in the determination of editorial policy.

His colleagues, however, desire to congratulate him upon the opportunity which is now opening to him. As a native Canadian, he is returning to the region in which his boyhood was spent. In Nova Scotia there are about 12,000 miners, some 8,000 of whom are in Cape Breton, where the workers' school is being established. These workers are now employed less than half time at low wages, and thus many are destitute and dependent upon public relief. The situation is ripe for a militant labor movement. Already these miners have broken away from the United Mine Workers of America and have formed their own independent union, The Amalgamated Mine Workers.

The purpose of the new school will be to train workers for more effective leadership in the working class movement. It will be built somewhat along the lines of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, to which we have already made reference. It will not be merely an academic institution, but its personnel will participate actively in demonstrations, campaigns, and strikes, and will coöperate with other workers' organizations, cultural and industrial. The plan is to purchase or rent a farm just outside the mining area and use it as a residential base for groups of workers for periods of eight or ten weeks. The editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW are strongly convinced that scores of such workers' schools should be established throughout the United States and Canada, and while we are most reluctant to lose Mr. MacLeod, we congratulate the miners of Nova Scotia upon this invaluable addition to their ranks.

A New Declaration of Independence

DEVERE ALLEN

WHEN the forefathers of our country assembled in Continental Congress at various times during 1774, 1775, and 1776, they little understood the full implications of their acts; only as time went on and the promise of a complete break with existing political loyalties dawned upon the colonies, was there a great upsurge of hopes and plans, culminating finally in the Declaration of Independence. Something of the same process has been recently going on among the ranks of trade unionists, farmers, coöperatives, youth groups, teachers, ministerial associations, and progressive political bodies. Proof of the strengthening determination of increasing numbers to break definitely with the present economic order is supplied by the Continental Congress for Economic Reconstruction which met at Washington on May 6 and 7.

In calling the conference, the Socialist Party had taken the initiative; nevertheless, an extraordinarily diversified roster of signatures was attached to the summons. For those who have remained skeptical whenever coöperation between the Socialist Party and other economic groups has been suggested, a reading of these names would be instructive. It must be born in mind, however, that economic unity, rather than the formation of a new political party, was the aim of the Congress.

Never has so vast a crowd come together in recent years to work out an economic program. Estimates varied from 3,500 to 4,500. Perhaps more revealing was the discomfort risked by many delegates to get to the Capital City from distant points. Thirty-two men and women rolled across the country from New Mexico in a springless truck equipped with hard board seats; hundreds rode all night in daycoaches; at least one couple rode freight trains from Seattle.

A tired, eager, and somewhat partisan audience filled the seats of the vast Washington Auditorium on Saturday morning to hear addresses by Emil Rieve, head of the Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers, chosen permanent chairman; Norman Thomás; Senator Frazier; and John Simpson, leader of the Farmers' Holiday Association, whose rousing speech rang like a trumpet from the midlands, where the farmers have all too often confined their radicalism to voting against one of the major parties. The undercurrent of fear lest one group try to dominate the conference was apparent throughout the first day, and was scarcely helped by the too-numerous nominations of Socialists for official positions at the gathering.

On the second day, contrary to the situation on the first, those in charge had mastered the problem of handling the huge crowd with efficiency; both Left and Right had felt the situation out enough to see that there was to be no stampede away from the tacit basis of an "agreement to disagree" in many particulars for the sake of a united program. When the committees brought in their reports on unemployment and insecurity, agriculture, public ownership, civil liberties, international relations, taxation-money-banking, and organization-continuation, these were recognized as competently worked-out documents; and their adoption, with one or two amendments, went ahead with a celerity that few had deemed possible, each passing by an overwhelming vote.

A BRIEF account could not even summarize the concrete details of these constructive reports; but happily they will soon be available, along with the complete Congress proceedings, as a pamphlet issued by the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, New York. Essentially they follow the same principles as those laid down a year and a half ago by the Four Year Presidential Plan of the League for Independent Political Action, and the platform on which the Socialist Party campaigned last fall. Little that is wholly new found its way into the program; yet it will emerge as a noteworthy embodiment of specific recommendations infused by a spirit of radicalism previously lacking in similar representative gatherings. The new Declaration of Independence adopted enthusiastically by the delegates contains all the fervor of its prototype, but directs it against the existing economic order and its beneficiaries.

Heartening indeed were the incidents which proved the existence of inter-racial solidarity: restaurants denying accomodations to Negroes were banned and picketed; a rousing welcome was given to A. Philip Randolph, head of the Pullman Porters, and Frank Crosswaith, of the Socialist Party, both colored, who were generally conceded to have made the best addresses at the Congress; and Norman Thomas, in characteristic championship of the Negro race, led a stirring fight on the Cairo Hotel, which had discriminated against Negroes, 150 white delegates having checked out after receiving back their deposits on threat of suit.

A national committee of 26 members will carry on the permanent work of coördination, which is expected to multiply local efforts for radical economic change throughout the country. Will the impetus given to

such work at Washington soon slow up and disappear, as so often has been the case? Even the most confirmed cynic must doubt such a prediction. The mood was different. The need was recognized by all as greater. The coöperation was deeper. The leadership for the future is in more realistic hands. Moving words from Norman Thomas are expected; but new forces are being set in motion when the country hears over the radio, from the same hall, the voice of an influential farm leader (and 500 of the delegates were elected by farm organizations) asserting proudly, "I come as a radical!" and when it listens to the Western liberal, Senator Lynn J. Frazier, declaring; "The capitalistic system has been overworked. It is responsible for the conditions which exist. Capitalistic power must be broken."

A New Declaration of Independence

Adopted May 7, 1933, at the New Continental Congress, Washington, D. C.

MORE than one hundred and fifty years ago our forefathers proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence that the supreme function of government is to make secure for men their inalienable right to life, to liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Moreover, the fathers declared that

> "Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness."

Such are the two basic principles of human liberty and genuine Americanism laid down by the founders of this Republic.

It has now come to pass that there has grown up in this nation a system of business, industry and finance which has enthroned economic kings and financial barons over our lives vastly more powerful, more irresponsible, and more dangerous to human rights than the political kings whom the fathers overthrew in our American revolution of 1776. These economic rulers now have such absolute control over the economic life of the people as to threaten the very foundation of this Republic.

II

Under this system of production for private profit these rulers have created conditions that are intolerable.

They have drawn billions in profit, rent, and interest; and they have slashed our wages and the prices of our farm products.

They have used the marvels of the machine age not to lift the burden of toil from our shoulders, but to speed us up beyond human endurance, and to throw us jobless upon the streets.

They have taken the products of our labor, and not paid us enough to buy back the goods we have produced.

They have wasted our natural, technical, and human resources, and led us into ever more tragic periods of industrial chaos.

They have mortgaged our farms, and then sold them from under us.

They have lived in mansions, and evicted us from our homes.

They have led us to trust in their banks, and then have stolen our savings.

They have invaded our civil liberties, and thrown our leaders into jail.

They have intrenched themselves in power by controlling the schools, the press, and the government.

They have spent billions on bombs and battleships while we have gone cold and hungry.

They have forced us to bleed and die in defense of their loans and markets abroad, and to kill our fellow workers in other countries.

They have done these things as part and parcel of a profit system which places the few in control of gigantic monopolies, and puts profit above human life.

Since the first Declaration of Independence the American people have discovered and created the means for unheard-of wealth. Wide rivers have been tamed to provide electric power, huge mountains have been tunnelled to give ore for the creation of new and marvelous machines, and the prairies have been made to yield rich crops. Man's power to produce wealth has been increased a hundredfold, until now a life of security and abundance is possible for all.

But today the nation starves in the midst of plenty. The gigantic machines stand idle, the crops lie in warehouses or rot in fields.

III

The system is collapsing before our very eyes. It is destroying itself with a destruction that threatens the historic gains of human rights and the achievements of human civilization. It is for us, workers and farmers of America, to build now a new economic system of justice and freedom. Only through our organized power can mankind be freed from the crushing and needless bonds of poverty and insecurity.

We, the representatives of workers' and farmers' organizations, in Continental Congress assembled, call upon all those who toil to organize to achieve one supreme aim, a new economic system based upon the principles of coöperation, public ownership and democratic management, in which the planlessness, the waste, and the exploitation of our present order shall be eliminated and in which the natural resources and the basic industries of the country shall be planned and operated for the common good.

Farmers and workers of America! The wealth and knowledge of one hundred and fifty years of achievement are at our command if we will organize for power. We shall not starve in the midst of plenty! We are the majority. Workers and farmers everywhere, unite! Agitate, educate, organize! We have a world to win!

The New Deal After Ten Weeks

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

TEN weeks ago Franklin Roosevelt assumed office, just at the moment when our banking system collapsed. In the subsequent period he has consolidated public opinion behind him in a way that no president of recent times, save Wilson in his war days, has been able to achieve. About his good intentions there can be no doubt. That he is a liberal is evident. In his appointments he has shown a very real desire to avoid the big business and corrupt city machines which have for so long made the Democratic Party the stunted twin of the Republicans. It was surely significant that he should choose Frances Perkins as the New York representative in his Cabinet and ignore John W. Davis, Barney Baruch and Owen Young, and that he should reach into Illinois to take the hard-hitting foe of Insullism, Harold Ickes, and turn his thumbs down on Melvin A. Traylor. Nor has he been ashamed to take counsel with experts, for he has assembled around him men like Moley, Tugwell, Berle, Dickinson and Ezekiel, all of whom are at once extremely competent and humane.

There is a healthier atmosphere in Washington now than there has been in the last 15 years. The new Administration is not frightened by any problem and is apparently ready to be in general as bold in action as conditions necessitate and the state of public opinion permits. The narrowing dogmas and sour prejudices which encompassed and inhibited the preceding Administration have been swept away. For the moment, at least, the national government has become something for which honest and sincere men can find real admiration. Even the proverbial stalemate between the executive and Congress has been obviated by the simple device of having Congress grant to the President discretionary powers on many intricate and puzzling problems of policy upon which it would otherwise have been difficult to obtain any action. Not the least of Roosevelt's real contributions may turn out to be the fact that, by acting resolutely under broadly granted powers, he will have preserved democratic government from the dictatorship which otherwise might soon have been upon the march. For another year of the ever-deepening spiral of deflation, combined with governmental deadlock and futility, would almost surely have led to some attempts at dictatorship, which might well have proved successful.

But admiration for the President should not blind us to the realities of the situation. We shall not get out of the depression through good will alone, nor can we build a better society without keen thought, courage, and widespread and disciplined organization. The President and the country face many dangers. His own party is in the main a weak and all too frequently a corrupt thing. Recovery will be difficult at best, and in the shadows foes are lurking. They are silent at the moment, but one misstep will bring them at his throat. For not many of the money changers have been driven from their temples, and, while discredited, they are still powerful. If economic democracy is to triumph, its supporters need to refrain from premature hat-throwing and settle down to work.

THE first month after the inauguration was almost in the nature of the case deflationary. The end of the bank holiday saw 5000 banks still closed, with at least five billions of deposits frozen. Buying was on a lower level and the pulse of business even slower, while the return of beer provided in itself no real stimulant to recovery. Similarly the curtailment of the veterans' payments, together with the salary reductions in the governmental services, still further decreased the amount of monetary purchasing power in the pockets of the consumers, and by itself would have carried business still lower. These economies, like those projected for the army and navy, were in the main well-advised and desirable, but the immediate effect was deflationary.

To offset this deflationary movement the President has created his first conservation corps, with its quota of 275,000 men and its projected expenditure of one-quarter of a billion dollars. Added to this will be the direct grants of relief, amounting to a half-billion, which have been authorized by the Wagner-La Follette-Costigan Act. In the background there is the public works program, of uncertain magnitude, about which, as in the case of the banking bill, there have been undue delays. The probable amount of this program, which may be announced by the time this article is published, will be somewhere between one and one-half and three billion dollars, having been held down to these probably insufficient figures by the conservative wing of the Cabinet, led by Secretary Woodin. It is difficult to see how these projects can get under way before fall or how they can buoy up industry to any appreciable degree before next winter. Unless, moreover, they include liberal provision for housing developments for the low-paid masses, the greatest opportunity for real public service will have been lost.

All in all, it is probably safe to estimate that the government will expand its total expenditures by ap-

preciably more than the amount of the contractions. A better balance will be created within the government budget, and expenditures for ordinary and recurring purposes will not exceed current receipts. Outlays for such extraordinary purposes as relief and capital expenditures will not be met, as they should not be, from the tax receipts, but instead by the creation of additional monetary purchasing power. This purchasing power is apparently to be created, if possible, by the flotation of bonds, and the greenbacks which are authorized in the inflation bill will probably be utilized only if such issues fail, or they will be used as a club to compel the banks to coöperate in the purchase of the bonds. It will be a mistake, however, if the President tries to amortize the bond issues through a sales tax. The President was wise in temporarily abandoning the gold standard as a means of removing that bugaboo against an expansionist program. For once the nation has gone off gold, with no evil effects, no one will be able to shout that the creation of more purchasing power will be disastrous since to do so would mean giving up the gold standard.

THE real question, however, is, How much purchasing power will be created? Here it is to be feared that the Administration will be too timid and will try to put out the conflagration which is devouring industry with a few cupfuls of purchasing power. With at least twelve millions out of work and millions more only working part-time, far more heroic methods are needed if we are to induce revival.

The other important policy which is about to be promulgated is the plan for establishing governmentally supervised cartels along the lines of the Swope plan of two years ago. This has been substituted by the Administration for the Black thirty-hour bill, which has had the most curious legislative experience of the current session. The Administration is apparently convinced that industry is threatened with over-production and that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act should be waived to permit combinations of employers to ration production. The government is to have some hand in fixing the total quotas and some supervision over price. In return for this and as a means of preventing cut-throat competition, the government, in partnership with the industries, is to fix minimum wages and maximum hours. To be effective, this scheme will necessitate the organization of labor and its recognition, and it is much to be hoped that this feature will be retained in the final draft. If it is, we may possibly see the widespread organization of labor in a rapidly expanded manner. That these new unions may bear a similarity to those controlled by the dictatorships in Italy, Germany and Russia is obvious, and if successful they may be used to give the Democratic Party continued political dominance. But these dangers, while real, should not lead to the rejection of a plan which has great potentialities for good.

It would not seem, however, as though the program of cartels offered much hope in itself for banishing the depression. The current plight of business is not overproduction but rather woeful underproduction. Industry must get some business before it can proceed to ration it out. The immediate hope is therefore in the creation of consumers' purchasing power, and one cannot help feeling that much of the effort that has gone into the plans for regulating industrial production should have gone into that endeavor. Certainly those who are arguing from the analogy of the War Industries Board miss the point. That body had behind it the gigantic purchasing power of the government, and with this weapon it was able to instill some order in the industrial system. But unless the government creates such purchasing power in the present emergency, the regulatory body will be operating in a void.

IT IS, moreover, distinctly doubtful whether the public's interests will be served when revival comes by such industrial pools. They will generally try to restrict output in order to boost prices above their competitive level, and it is much to be feared that the representatives of the public will not be able to restrain them. Such a restriction may be justifiable in the case of a wasting natural resource such as oil, or, to a lesser degree, lumber. It may be endured temporarily as a necessary evil, incident to farm relief, as is projected in the agricultural bill. But in nearly all consumers' goods industries we suffer from a lack rather than a plethora even in periods of prosperity. We need more food, not less; more housing, more clothes, more shops and better amusements. There is some ground for believing that the drafters of the industrial production plan tend to believe that we can increase the national income by decreasing each and every portion of it. The plan will have to be drafted carefully if it is to permit production to be concentrated in the more efficient plants, since the natural tendency will be to aid the weaker plants by rationing out quotas among them.

Roosevelt, in short, is making an effort at once to save and to liberalize capitalism and at the same time to make democratic control over industry effective. If he fails because of the sheer weight of the depression, or because of errors which he may make, or because of the enmity of his opponents, then the drift will be both to the right and to the left. Then there will indeed be a sharp and bitter conflict.

It behooves the liberals of the left, therefore, both to propagate their program and to organize so that Roosevelt may be supported when he is on the right side, so that there may be a strong group to go on where he falls short, and finally so that there may be an alternative to fascism if he fails.

Why Gandhi Fasts Again

RICHARD B. GREGG

SINCE last September, when Gandhi's fast gave such immense impetus to the movement to abolish untouchability in India, some reactionary orthodox Hindus have joined with other reactionary vested interests to try to block the reform. They have invoked legal obstacles and have accused Gandhi and some of his followers of using unfair coercion. There have been, to be sure, instances where young and overzealous followers of Gandhi have used intemperate language and attempted to use unfair pressure against the reactionaries.

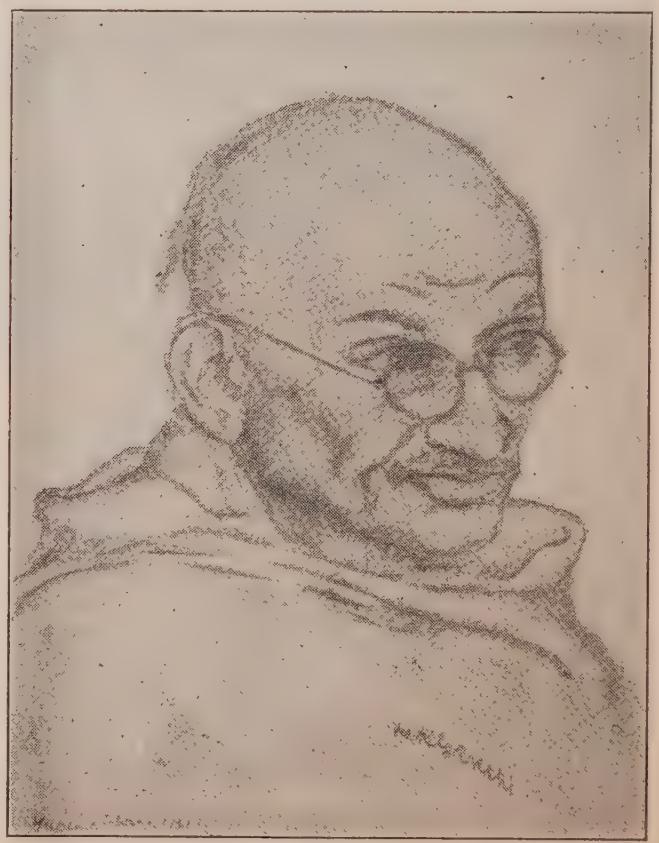
These occurrences and the bitterness of the opposition convinced the Mahatma that something must be done to change the inner attitude of both the overzealous reformers and the opposition. Prompted by conscience, he suddenly decided to fast 21 days in order, he is reported to have said, "to remove bitterness, purify hearts and make clear that the movement in behalf of Indian 'untouchables' is wholly moral." He stated also, say the dispatches, that the fast is not political and is "against nobody in particular," but for self-purification and to hasten the ending of untouchability. As he has made the fast unconditional and irrevocable, nobody can claim that there is any attempt at coercion. Nobody is asked to act immediately or against his judgment. The fast invites 21 days of introspection and thought for everyone concerned or interested in the Indian situation. The exigencies of the situation for Indians make the invitation to them a demand.

In September, 1924, Gandhi fasted 21 days, and that fast too was intended to remove bitterness and purify hearts in an effort to end the quarrels between Hindus and Moslems. The people were deeply stirred, and an agreement was reached, but it did not prove permanent. On many other occasions Gandhi has fasted for shorter periods for purposes of moral purification. Such fasts are in accordance with age-old Hindu belief in the value and power of fasting as a form of prayer and as a means to purify the heart and mind of the faster and of all beholders.

Though at his age, 64, such a long fast would seem likely to be fatal, Gandhi believes that he will survive it. So also do his personal Indian physician and his secretary, Mahadev Desai, who was with him during the 1924 fast and during the fast of last autumn. Madam Naidu, who is with Gandhi now at Poona, told press representatives that she too believes he will live through the fast.

Westerners naturally find it difficult to understand the Hindu religious concepts and customs, and their depth and weight. Yet we can accept the fact that these concepts and traditions are such that a fast like this by a leader with such immense moral authority will move the Indian people, especially the Hindus, even more powerfully than the fast of last September or of September, 1924. This fast is an assertion of trust in the spirit or ideal as a power greater than the body. It is a symbol and example of courage, devotion, unselfishness, non-violence, will power, and persuasion without coercion.

THE fast of last autumn accomplished immense reforms. Since then, partly because of those reforms, Gandhi's moral power has greatly increased, and public opinion is much stronger for the change. The reactionaries have been driven into the open, where they feel the full power of public opinion. The temporary suspension of civil disobedience at Gandhi's request has concentrated the mind and feeling of the entire country on this one problem of untouchability, and has further demonstrated Gandhi's power. It



From a drawing by Yuping Wong. Courtesy of the Challenge, Ltd.

seems highly probable that this fast will accomplish the desired reform, whether Gandhi lives or dies.

If untouchability is ended, there will assuredly be secondary results of great importance. The Poona Pact, secured by Gandhi's fast last year, resulted in a strong and almost successful attempt at political agreement among Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs. The ending of untouchability will give the Hindu community greater internal unity, more generosity, unselfishness, courage, tact, humility and wisdom. The democratic Moslems would be less suspicious and more favorably disposed toward a more democratized Hindu community, some of whose leaders had given up special privileges and position. The suspension of civil disobedience makes adjustment between the communities easier, perhaps. The achievement of Indian unity would put an end to all the British plans embodied in the White Paper and probably compel the British to reopen negotiations with Gandhi and the Congress, this time on a basis more nearly approaching equality.

If Gandhi dies during the fast, I think that civil disobedience would be resumed and the movement for complete independence will certainly carry on. Gandhi's ideals will live forever. The peasants, the vast mass of the people, will, I believe, remain non-violent, and even in the cities there would be relatively little violence if Gandhi should die. He has taught his method to many millions, and its power has proved so great as to assure success in due time.

If he lives and recovers from the fast, and the Government then refuses, as seems probable, to release the other political prisoners and to make a fair truce with the Congress for purposes of negotiation, Gandhi has said that he will not "take advantage" of his release but will ask the Government to imprison him again. That would be an unmistakable summons to Congress to resume civil disobedience. If soon after that, Hindu-Moslem-Sikh unity is achieved, the British will be compelled to negotiate with Gandhi, and that will mean release of all the political prisoners.

Such an event would be getting back to the Delhi truce, with some important differences. The Congress is now far stronger in the hearts of the people. It has better discipline and has proved its endurance and power. The Government meanwhile has showed its hand completely. Every Indian group is now suspicious of it and hostile to the British plans. If Gandhi survives he will have proved his right to represent the "untouchables." His authority over his people has been amply demonstrated to all the world. On the other hand, the Churchill wing of the Tories is creating such a powerful backfire behind the Government in opposition to the White Paper plans that Indian loyalists who are afraid of the Congress may find that they will have to accept it as the lesser of two evils.

Gandhi has often said that religion and politics cannot be separated. The implications of his fast seem to prove it so. Every great moral reform has political results. The ending of Indian untouchability will be a striking example.

Potter's Field

HERE lies Potter's field, a black monument to blackness—
Here from the depths of the world were they brought:
Hoboes, used-up workers, suicides, and the broken old,
cast out to pick in filth for bread.
Come not here with tears, for all their lives these hard ones sneered at tears;
Come not with prayers, they never had a God.
Down in the wolf-pit of the world they fought for breath and light,
And now they rest here beaten, submissive,
Far beyond the hands of scorn and the breast of pity—
The symbols of a race betrayed, outraged.
Here lie the silent, the inglorious ones of Earth,
And yet in some dark hour when the stars are dead,
Upon the winds of night the heart alive to them can hear
The sounds of ghostly voices wrung from pallid lips:

"O you who riot in the sweetness of your fatted lives,
We are the black manure that made your roses sweet,
Out of our broken hearts have come the towers of your delight,
Out of our mangled breasts and limbs have risen the white cathedrals of your joy,
Out of our toil and the chaos of our grief has come your bowered ease.

We were the dross, the scum, we were the nameless,
We were the dark undertones of the music of your lives.
We were the driven things that served your lusts and idle whims.

We have hewn your forests, dug your mines and drowned in your storm-lashed ships;
Our blood has burned upon the streets and towers of your cities;
You have taken our children fatherless and crying
And set them to toil within your reeking mills.

Here in this place of darkness where you have flung
The creatures you can no longer use,
Rises unseen a ghostly monument,
The epitome of your civilization—
That mound of sorrows which is the forgotten bones of those who built your world."

Here lies Potter's field—a black monument to blackness.

MAX PRESS

Austria's Alternatives

London, April 25, 1933

VIENNA is today the centre of gravity of European politics. Will Austria go Nazi and adhere to Hitler's Third Commonwealth? Will it, under Italian protection, restore the Habsburg dynasty and create in the heart of Central Europe a revived Catholic Empire? Or will it revive its democratic constitution, and remain a neutral island of freedom between the Nazis of the North and the Fascists of the South? One thing is certain: it cannot long remain what it is, a battleground where three conflicting forces watch each other, and count the days and weeks that will pass before one of the three risks a decisive stroke. It is a tragic issue for a city which, in spite of its misfortunes and its poverty, stands in all that makes for true civilization second to none in Europe. But it is also a matter that concerns all Austria's neighbors. The entire future of a continent may turn on this decision.

Vienna is the strategic key to Central Europe. That is why the French have always stubbornly opposed the union of this German population with Germany—even while Germany was a pacific and democratic republic. Through it pass the railways and the river highroad of the Danube that lead to the Balkans and to Turkey. If it should fall under a Nazi dictatorship, it will be in fact, if not in law, a portion of Hitler's Empire, and its population will increase by ten per cent the cannon fodder of which the new Nazi militarism disposes. What is more important still, it will make Germany the virtual neighbor of Hungary. So she would push her power into the troubled world of the Balkans. Only a strip of Serbian territory would stand between her sphere of influence and Bulgaria, and Bulgaria touches Turkey. In short, if Vienna goes Nazi, the old alliance of 1914 can be reconstituted. Serbia, it is true, stands in the way, but Serbia is a crumbling barrier, torn by a racial civil war.

The other possibility is no less adventurous. Italy is Germany's rival for the leadership of the European reaction. She has certain advantages. She was never disarmed, and can freely manufacture arms, not only for herself, but also for her allies. She was first in the field, and has long possessed the complete confidence of Fascist Hungary, while a royal marriage links her to Bulgaria. Up to a point both trust her, for in one thing at least she is sincere—her hatred of their common enemy the Serbs. But she too needs Austria. Only over Austrian railways can she send munitions into Hungary. To win Austria's confidence was not easy, for Italy seized in 1918 the South Tyrol, and holds down its German population under a galling yoke. But a plan is dangled before the eyes of Austria which has for its aristocracy at least a dazzling attraction. Let Austria recall her Habsburg emperor. He might then be proclaimed simultaneously King of Hungary. Finally the Croats and the Slovenes, who endure the tyranny of the Serbs only because they lack arms to break it, might be armed and aided in their revolt, and they would eventually return, as a third autonomous state, to the bosom of the restored Austrian Empire. So, under the wing of Italy, the Habsburg Empire would revive, maimed indeed and amputated, but still a considerable Power, with wide claims and indefinite prospects.

THE complete realisation of either of these programs would of course mean war—that, indeed, is their purpose. It is hard to say which of them the French would consider the more objectionable: either of them would threaten the balance of power which they supposed they had arranged for all time at Versailles. The Little Entente (Czechs, Serbs and Roumanians) would dislike either scheme, but it would oppose the Italian plan of a Habsburg restoration with instant and unflinching resolution, since a Habsburg Empire would have claims to at least part of their territories. Undoubtedly the Nazi plan is the easier of the two to realise. France would oppose, even by armed force, an open annexation of Austria by Germany, and it would be a flagrant breach of the peace treaties. Italy might not go quite so far, but she also would oppose, since the capture of Vienna by Hitler would transfer the leadership of the European reaction from Rome to Berlin. The Papacy would take the same attitude. It does not approve of the Nazis, who are in the main militant north-German Protestants, and it regards the Austrian Catholics as its favorite children. But while for these reasons any open annexation, any overt *Anschluss* of Austria to Germany, may be out of the question until Germany is re-armed, the same result may be attainable by indirect means. Suppose that the Austrian Nazis were to seize power in Vienna, and to set up a Nazi government there. Could France or Italy intervene in Austria's internal concerns? Yet such a government would achieve annexation in all but the name. It would enact the same decrees. It would use the same whips against the Jews and the same prisons against the Socialists, and its Foreign Office would be a mere branch of Berlin's Wilhelmstrasse. The only really serious obstacle to this plan is that Austrian finances are bankrupt, and are carried on only by doles and loans from Paris, London and Geneva. The screw of the victors' money-power would be applied without mercy if Vienna went Nazi.

What, then, do the Austrians themselves think of their conundrum? The only opinion which all of them hold is that their present position is intolerable. Austria, a poor if beautiful Alpine fringe round the overgrown city of Vienna, cannot live without foreign markets, and cannot in the present state of Europe find them. Vienna starves, and ever since 1914, has starved, helpless and hopeless, with nothing but her wit and her music to comfort her. She never believed in herself, and never regarded this dwarf Austria created by the victors as anything more than a bad dream that must pass. In the early years after the war nine Austrians in ten would have voted for union with Germany. Race, language and culture made that the only natural and happy solution, but the victors, who believed in the right of self-determination only when it told against the vanquished, had set their veto upon it. As the years went on, the Austrian Clerical Party (The Christian Social Party as it calls itself), which is much more reactionary than the relatively liberal Catholic Centre Party of Germany, grew lukewarm over this way out. It seemed futile to antagonize both France and Italy, and so in the end it sought comfort and hope in Rome. The Socialists, who poll 60 per cent of the population of Vienna, and run both the municipality and the State Legislature with imagination and courage, were enthusiasts for the German solution until the Republic went under. Today it would mean for them political death and a savage persecution. Theirs is a strong party, spirited, well-led, intelligent, morally and intellectually the most admirable of the Socialist parties of the Continent, but it polls only a fraction over a third of the total Austrian vote, and has little hope of winning the old-world Catholic peasantry of the backward Alpine regions.

THE class struggle amid the incredible poverty and unemployment is intense, and, as in Germany, the middle class is desperate and very much more violent than the workers. There are few Communists in Austria—that creed thrives where Socialists lack courage. The Catholic middle class, under aristocratic leadership, created its own Fascist militia, the Heimwehr, under a certain Prince Starhemberg. It has rifles and machine guns and enjoys the patronage of the present clerical ministry of Dr. Dollfuss, but by all accounts its funds come from Rome, and its eventual purpose is a Habsburg restoration. To defend themselves the Socialist workers in their turn created a republican militia, the Schutzbund, which has uniforms and some arms. It has now been suppressed, but underground its organisation in some degree survives.

In recent months, however, the Nazis have swung into prominence, and seem to be growing as rapidly as they grew in Germany. They too have their party army, and their propaganda is directed by leaders trained in the Nazi school for agitators at Munich. They are winning seats in municipal elections, but, what is much more significant, the whole Heimwehr militia of the province of Styria has just gone over to them. They appeal to the despair of the younger generation of the middle class which has come to manhood in a land that can offer them neither work nor hope. They trade on the prejudice against Jews. They capitalise the prestige of Hitler's victory, and finally they profit by the instinct of race, which calls for the union of all the German peoples. They are growing, and I believe they will grow until no reactionary government can stand without their support.

In this triangular duel the Dollfuss Ministry directs its fire only against the Socialists. It has suspended the sittings of Parliament, in which it has a precarious majority of one vote—though the federal Senate still meets occasionally. It has disbanded the Socialist militia, while it fosters the Fascist and tolerates the Nazi armed forces. It has placed the sturdy Socialist daily, the *Arbeiter Zeitung,* under preventive censorship, and that journal appears with many eloquent blank spaces—when it is not entirely suppressed. It has just withdrawn the right of the workers, or of most of them, to strike, while leaving to the employers the lockout. For the first time in 43 years it has prohibited the celebration of May Day. In the public schools it has made Catholic religious instruction compulsory. It is, in short, a more reactionary government than Austria experienced even in the darker years of the old Empire. It might conceivably save the Republic and even itself, if it would come to terms with the Socialists. That is, I think, impossible. But it is equally obvious that the time for a Habsburg restoration is slipping by. The ugliest and most brutal of all possible counter-revolutions, a Nazi triumph, looms up as the destiny that may await, in the not very distant future, this sorely-tried city.

H. N. Brailsford

Towers of Manhattan

ALTHOUGH their flanks be iron, brick and stone,
These mountainous towers, jutting mass on mass,
Tremble upon a cracking chain of glass
Over sheer gulfs above the black unknown.
Long shall the stretching cables creak and moan,
Till, in a hurtling wave of fiery gas,
The whole great tottering world of walls shall pass
Into a night where candle never shone!—
Into that night where Troy and Carthage lie—
Unless we watchers, leaping to repair
Those links that Want and Avarice gnaw away,
Shall rear new girders to a kinder sky,
And lift, from the stark canyons of despair,
That light for which the hungering millions pray.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ

Industrial Warfare at South River

THOMAS WRIGHT

IN many of the small urban communities of the United States the real tragedies of the economic depression are being enacted. Ordinarily these communities have no background of industrial struggles for decent wages and living conditions, and no labor organization of any kind exists in them. They have not developed any social consciousness concerning the responsibilities of the employers of labor, especially of women and young girls, and they offer a haven of refuge to the sweatshop entrepreneur from the great city. Here the "gypsy" shop exists in all its raw and naked character.

Local politicians and local bankers welcome these new "industries." They often finance them, and when the time comes, protect them. Whenever conditions become unbearable, explosion occurs, usually spontaneously, and when the explosion occurs, the forces of law and order immediately express themselves. The under-privileged and sometimes illiterate working-class group is an easy prey to the righteous upholders of the law.

A typical example of this tragic state of affairs is revealed in the recent industrial history of the town of South River, New Jersey. On the tenth of December a jury, before Judge Adrian Lyons in Middlesex County Quarter Sessions Court, convicted six men in connection with the riots which had occurred in that community the previous September. Judge Lyons sentenced those convicted to from six to eighteen months' imprisonment.

The first riot occurred in South River on September 9. A strike had been in progress since the middle of August involving about 1,700 female workers in ten or more shops. These workers were striking against unsanitary conditions, browbeating by local bosses, unfair wages and the blacklist. The shops involved were "gypsy" factories engaged in the making of cheap dresses and wash suits. The workers were entirely unorganized, and the strike had occurred spontaneously. The first riot occurred before a factory which had opened up with a group of strikebreakers, whom the local police had been called upon to protect. Tear gas was used, and this so enraged the people that the factory was severely damaged. The strike continued after the riot, and a local labor organization was effected. The Workers' International Relief, a Communist organization, came in to give relief to the strikers and their families, setting up as their headquarters the Polish National Home in South River, of which Al Truskowski, one of the defendants in the trial was in charge.

The second riot occurred on September 19. Several local committees had been formed to attempt to settle the strike. Mr. John Moffett, United States Commissioner of Conciliation for the United States Department of Labor had come to South River and worked with one of the groups known as the Citizens' Committee in an effort to adjust the dispute. Success attended their efforts: it was publicly announced in some of the churches that all save four of the factories had agreed to the new arrangements and that the plants would open on Monday, September 19. The remaining four would sign agreements on Monday, and work would commence in them on Tuesday or Wednesday. On Sunday night Mayor Armstrong of South River employed 40 detectives from the Manning Detective Agency at Newark and at the same time issued a public statement assuring the citizens and business men of South River that property would be adequately protected. He has since stated that he was urged to obtain these detectives by prominent citizens of the town. These same prominent citizens have since denied this emphatically, and have washed their hands of the whole affair.

THE deputies appeared on the scene early Monday morning. They were at first stationed at all the factories, but several of the operators sent them away, telling them they were not needed. Eventually most of the deputies congregated at the R. and P. Wash Suit factory. The news of the presence of the deputies spread quickly, and shortly after noon a large crowd had gathered. During the early afternoon the deputies charged upon the crowd and some bad beatings resulted. Bricks and rocks were thrown intermittently. About four o'clock the fatal shooting of Walter Rojek and the wounding of another boy drove the crowd to fury, and they charged upon the deputies and the local police, who by this time had appeared to protect the deputies. The crowd drove the deputies and police, under a barrage of stones, through the streets and into the borough hall, where they barricaded themselves on the second floor. All through the evening the crowd grew, and finally Governor Moore sent in the State troopers. These officers quickly restored order, arrested the deputies and took them to the New Brunswick jail, largely as a matter of safety. Mayor Armstrong had forbidden the deputies to carry arms. They were only allowed to have night sticks. When these deputies were searched at the New Brunswick jail, two were found to possess guns. One had a thirty-eight revolver and the other a thirty-two. The other depu-

ties were released at once and the two who were armed a short while later. The Prosecuting Attorney explained that one of them had a permit to carry a gun, and that in the case of the other deputy, ballistic experts, comparing a bullet fired from his gun with those found at the scene of the riot, declared the rifling entirely different.

Three days after the riot several young boys were arrested. They were taken to New Brunswick and questioned by detectives in the Prosecutor's office. Several of them signed statements which implicated others. All those implicated were immediatly arrested, some thirty in all. Bail was set at figures ranging from a minimum of $5,000 to a maximum of $20,000. Al Truskowski, who was named at the trial by Prosecutor Douglas Hicks as the ringleader, was arrested and held in $20,000 bail. A hearing on a writ of habeas corpus was held before Supreme Court Justice Case, and the bail was reduced. The lower court was informed that such high bail was unnecessary and substantially a denial of right to bail. Bail was secured later for most of the defendants. The Grand Jury of Middlesex County then indicted about thirty young men and boys on charges of rioting, inciting to riot, resisting an officer, unlawful assemblage and malicious mischief.

THE trial began on Monday, December 5. Stephen Perosa, age 18; Edward Cichorek, 17; Theodore Frankowski, 21; and Stephen Oder, among those indicted, had given statements to the Prosecutor which they testified in court had been obtained from them through intimidation and which were false statements. They declared that they were threatened with blackjacks and physical violence. Cichorek stated that he had been handcuffed to a chair from seven o'clock in the evening until five the next morning and had been questioned constantly. Detective Holden admitted on the stand that he had handcuffed this boy to the chair and had questioned him from 10:30 P.M. until 4 A.M. These boys were to have been the chief witnesses for the State, but the Prosecutor impeached his own witnesses, as they all denied their original statements. The other witnesses for the State were three deputies and two of the local police of South River. The State did produce two more witnesses who identified the defendants, but it was brought out by counsel for the defense that both these witnesses were already on probation from the court for crimes previously committed and that their testimony was therefore questionable. Although the cases were being tried on the indictment of rioting, practically every sort of evidence, pertaining to any and all the other indictments, was admitted by the court.

The strike itself and its basic causes do not seem to have figured largely in the trial of this case. Statements of eyewitnesses assert that the riot was spontaneous and was caused by the presence of the outside deputies. Several local ministers of South River suggest that the deputies were the cause of the trouble. However, all the defendants were tried on the assumption that they led the riot and had laid plans to bring it about. That a group of boys and men such as the defendants in the courtroom at New Brunswick could be responsible for a riot involving from three to five thousand people seems preposterous. The reputed leader of this nondescript "gang" was acquitted. Those convicted seem to have been convicted on the basis of "throwing stones." The real blame lies close to the heads of the leaders of South River. A political situation in which there is a Republican mayor and two Republican councilmen opposed by four Democratic councilmen was the first breeder of this devil's broth. The Borough Attorney is said to have informed the Mayor that he had charge of the police force. Upon his authority the deputies were hired. The Democratic councilmen issued a hasty public denial of having given their consent to the employment of outside deputies.

THE town of South River is in desperate straits as far as the workers are concerned. All the brick factories, where the men have worked, have been closed for several years. Only "gypsy" sweat shops, where women and girls work, are now running. The wages paid to these workers average less than $1.25 per day, and run as low as 65 cents for nine and one-half hours of work. The interest of most of the business men of South River is to keep things quiet. They do not want to stir up any more trouble. Several would not talk about the cases at all. They abhor radicals and the first question asked of an investigator is, "Are you a Communist?" or, "Do you sympathize with the Communists?" Many of them lay all the trouble to outside agitators.

Throughout the trial in New Brunswick a certain underlying implication of communism was suggested by the Prosecuting Attorney. An effort was made to connect a certain Tom Scott with the changed testimony of the State's witnesses. Tom Scott has acted in the capacity of a relief worker for the International Labor Defense. Shortly after the first trial he was arrested and later tried for subornation of perjury. He was convicted, and sentenced to not less than two or more than three years' imprisonment. The remaining cases have been postponed for an indefinite period.

The whole South River proceeding is a flagrant exhibition of the type of thing that goes on when the powers-that-be in America act with regard to underprivileged groups. Men openly declared themselves in South River as welcoming the use of strong-arm methods against any agitators or groups within the community attempting to organize the workers or in any way upset the status quo.

Not in the

Pennsylvania Ousts "Yellow Dog"

All agreements providing that employees shall not become members of a labor union are declared contrary to public policy and void in an anti-"yellow-dog" bill passed on May 4 by the Pennsylvania Senate. The vote was 47 to one. By a vote of 88 to nothing the bill had previously passed the House. Enactment of the measure followed a state-wide campaign by the State Federation of Labor, the Pennsylvania Civil Liberties Committee, and the National Committee on Labor Injunctions, organized by the American Civil Liberties Union.

How Trade Has Dropped

A steady drop at the rate of 10 billion dollars a year for three years is how the world's foreign trade has shrunk since 1929, according to figures of the National Industrial Conference Board, an association of employers. The total trade of 24 leading countries, which account for about four-fifths of world trade, amounted to $52,800,000,000 in 1929; $42,200,000,000 in 1930; $30,500,000,000 in 1931; and $20,000,000,000 in 1932. The total decline for the three years amounts to 62.1 per cent.

Civil Liberties Improve

Marked improvement in the attitude of federal and state governments generally toward civil liberties is noted by the American Civil Liberties Union in its annual survey, recently made public. Notable falling off of activities by state authorities violative of constitutional guarantees is cited. For the first time in years, says the A. C. L. U., no one is serving sentence under criminal syndicalism or sedition laws in any state or colony (except the Philippines), and no such cases are pending in the two states where most of these prosecutions have taken place—California and Pennsylvania. The only syndicalism charges pending are in Illinois and Ohio, in coal strike cases, and in Michigan and Iowa, against farmers who opposed mortgage foreclosure sales. Never before have farmers been the target of such a law. "There is no activity by federal government departments interfering with civil liberties," the Union points out. "No cases of mail exclusion by the P. O. Department are hanging fire. The Department of Labor has ceased persecuting alien radicals, the new Secretary having announced that the Wickersham Report is her 'Bible.'"

Denver Labor Wins

Organized labor in Denver won a sweeping victory in the school board elections when Samuel Johnson, labor candidate, led his closest opponent by 2,000 votes.

25 Billions in Gold Bricks

Worthless stock to the value of 25 billion dollars has been unloaded on the American public within the past decade, according to an estimate of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency.

Bread for Russians

According to the International Coöperative Alliance, of London, a clearing house for information of world progress in coöperative enterprises, four huge mechanized bakeries have been completed at Moscow which have a daily output of 900 tons of bread. Others are under construction, and by the end of 1933, 11 of these coöperative bakeries will be producing 2,500 tons of bread every day.

Socialists Fight Fascism

The Labor and Socialist International, despite terrific pressure on German Socialist and trade union leaders to silence criticism of the Hitler regime, has announced its decision to continue with vigor its campaign against the Nazi movement. The International Federation of Trade Unions has joined with the Socialist International in soliciting funds to aid all of the Nazi's victims. Contributions are asked for the Matteotti Fund, which was first set up to help victims of Mussolini's fascist terror, and is now being used to fight German fascism.

Public Housing vs. Private

Extraordinarily revealing figures were given out by the Minister of Health in the House of Commons last April regarding the working class homes built under the so-called Wheatley Act passed by the Labor Government in 1924. The Act facilitates the construction of such houses by local authorities and private firms. Between the year when the Act was passed and Feb. 28, 1933, the number of homes for workers built by local authorities was 445,521, while those built by private enterprise totalled only 11,953. Under the Greenwood Act passed at the urging of the Labor Minister for Health in 1930, local authorities have built 7,800 houses and private enterprise only six. The present Tory government has recently struck a heavy blow to slum clearance by abolishing the Wheatley Act subsidy and leaving more of the problem of working class housing to private enterprise.

"First to the Trough"

These are the words used by Mark Sullivan in describing the appeal of the State of Maryland for a share of the Federal appropriation for relief of the unemployed. In an article in the *American Bankers Association Journal* Mr. Sullivan continues: "Of the new expenditures Mr. Roosevelt has embarked upon, the one that seems to me most to justify disquiet is the direct gift by the Federal Government to unemployed individuals in the states. . . . We have made a fundamental change in the American system of government."

Government Abolition Legal

At the present time, asserts the Labor and Socialist Press Service, no fewer than 38 state constitutions declare, in some form or other, that it is the right of the people to abolish or alter their government when they deem it necessary. At one time this number totalled 41 states, but lately when new constitutions have been adopted, these revolutionary phrases have been dropped.

India Opposes New "Freedom"

That almost every Indian group has already voiced opposition to the recent "White Paper" containing the British government's long-awaited proposals for a new Indian constitution, is stated by the American League for India's Freedom following a survey; the League also declares that "not a single Indian newspaper has registered approval."

Workers' Music

A competition of American composers for the best musical composition on a subject connected with the workers' movement, a competition of 14 workers' choruses in various languages, a music contest for children, and the first American presentation of a new Russian composition marked the first American Workers' Music Olympiad, held May 21 at the College of the City of New York.

Potsdam Spirit on Fifth Avenue

Fashionable St. Thomas's Church in New York City on a recent Sunday was the scene of a special service for the old Seventh Regiment in dress parade. The Reverend Major Brooks, the rector and chaplain, warned his responsive audience that it would be "almost criminal for the government to go any farther in cutting down the standing army. . . . A well-trained and well-equipped citizen soldiery and an adequate standing army would serve as a national police force and yet be no threat to any nation. They would be a mighty force in upholding world peace."

Headlines

R. I. Labor Moves

Although some of the officials of the American Federation of Labor have opposed the minimum wage provisions of the Black 30-hour week bill, and have opposed bitterly the recognition of Soviet Russia, the Rhode Island Federation of Labor at its recent convention voted for both of these measures.

India Selects Committee

The names of the 16 peers and the 16 members of Parliament who are to compose the Joint Select Committee to examine the Government's proposals for the future government of India have been published, and the list includes 21 Conservatives, 3 Liberals, 2 Liberal Nationals, 4 Laborites, 1 National Laborite, and 1 Independent.

For Will Hays: News from Britain

Five hundred boys and girls between the ages of 11 and 14 have answered a questionnaire drawn up by Dr. Gross, a military physician at Hampstead, England, with respect to the effect of motion pictures. Sixty children never go. Sixty-nine per cent complained of visual strain after going to the movies (possibly due to the fact that smoking on an intensive scale is permitted at most British cinemas). Boys were more attracted to the films than girls. Cowboy films were in high favor. Love stories were disliked by 195 children, and 125 registered distaste for murder scenes. As for war pictures, 52 preferred them while 97 did not, in fact strongly detesting them. When asked what they learned at the cinema, a majority of the children replied, "Nothing."

Drops 72 Per Cent

The cash income of farmers in the United States declined about $3,400,000,000, or 72 per cent, from 1929 through 1932; while their gross income declined nearly seven billions, or 57 per cent, during the same period.

Municipal Defaults

The *American Bankers Association Journal* in its May issue lists 896 instances in the United States of defaults on bonds by municipalities, counties, and school districts since 1926.

Militarism in Washington

In commenting upon the proposed reduction in expenditures for military and naval preparedness, the *Army and Navy Journal* says: "With deep conviction, we who know the needs of National Defense say that the adoption of the policy of the Administration will constitute a disaster greater than any ever suffered in war."

German Films Boycotted

The advent of the Hitler regime resulted in such a large drop in attendance at German films on exhibition in New York City, that the Europa, one of the largest motion picture houses showing foreign films, has abolished German and substituted Russian pictures because of a loss of more than 50 per cent of patronage. Captain Harold Auten, booking agent for German films, says he has had to cut his booking price from $5,000 to $1,000, and "sales are at a standstill." Bookings outside New York are also being withdrawn, he is reported as declaring by the Federated Press.

"Aiding" Unemployment

The Boeing Airplane Company, at Seattle, according to Federated Press reports, has instituted the 12-hour day.

What Public Ownership Can Do

Because Alameda, California, owns its power plant, it has been able to put through a cut in the tax rate amounting to 61 cents on each $100 of valuation, by putting power profits into the city treasury.

Low Interest Rates

The Government of the United States in recent weeks has been borrowing money for three years at the annual rate of 2⅞ per cent, and for 91 days at the rate of one-half of one per cent per year.

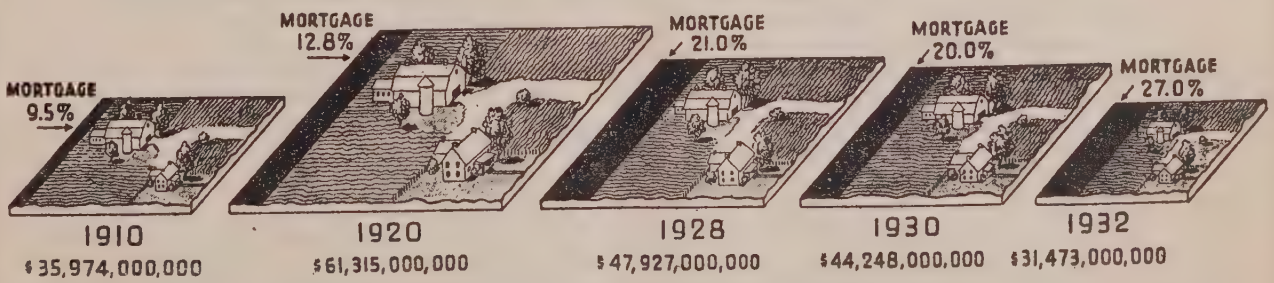
East Is West

The University of Hawaii, according to the World's Student Christian Federation, attracts a remarkably inter-racial student body, 40 per cent being Caucasian, 23 per cent Japanese, 19 per cent Chinese, 10 per cent Hawaiian, and the rest a mixture of Portuguese, Korean, and Filipino.

Air Mail Versus Rural Free Delivery

The Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce of America has recently published a study comparing the deficit incurred by the Post Office in operating the air mail service with the deficit resulting from the rural free delivery. The respective deficits for the last fiscal year were 15 millions for the air service and 106 millions for the rural routes. Both types of loss are justified in this report on the ground of services rendered to the American people.

The Growing Ratio of Farm Mortgage Debt to Values



The Illustration Above Shows How Farmers' Mortgages Have Covered a Steadily Rising Percentage of the Value of Their Farms Since 1910, Growing From 9.5 Per Cent of the Valuation to About 27 Per Cent. The Figures From 1910 to 1930 Are From the Department of Agriculture, and the 1932 Figure Is a Computation Based on Estimates of the Department of the Percentage Changes Since 1930.

The United States Daily

The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

Can Moral Society Control Immoral Man?

The Tragedy of Lynching. By Arthur F. Raper. University of North Carolina Press. Pp. vii, 499. $2.50.

IN this volume the Research Secretary of the Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation administers to his own section the faithful wounds of a friend. Lynching is distinctively and increasingly a Southern tragedy. Although cultural conditions throughout the Union are such that it may occur anywhere, and although only four states have no cases recorded against them, there are no real grounds for regional complacency. For lynchings are decreasing less rapidly in the South than elsewhere. From 1889 to 1899, 82 per cent of the lynchings were in 14 Southern and border states, but this proportion has steadily increased to 91.9 per cent during the first decade of this century, to 94.4 per cent during the second decade, to 95.3 per cent during the five-year period from 1920 to 1924, reaching the high level of 97.4 per cent for 1925 to 1929.

Intensive case studies of the 21 lynchings which darken the record of 1930 constitute the body of the volume. They effectively dispose of the usual apology for lynching, that when men witness atrocious crimes committed against their neighbors, "human nature being what it is, the lynching of the guilty party, though deplorable, is inevitable." Among these 21 victims of the mob, two were not even accused of crime; in six cases there is uncertainty as to what crimes, if any, were committed; the guilt of five others is gravely doubtful; in only eight was the presumption of guilt strong; and in only about half of the cases was even the alleged offense punishable by death under the law of the state in which it was committed.

With a greater wealth of detail than heretofore available, these studies reveal lynching as fundamentally a cultural and psychological problem. It depends upon a complex of traditions and customs which perpetuate in individuals certain negative attitudes toward human personality and organized society.

The lynching complex is itself woven out of many converging traditions, and varies in content from one geographical area to another. Its most widely spread and deeply rooted element is "the man-hunt tradition." Under frontier conditions, when the population was too sparse to organize effective agencies of law enforcement and too poor to finance them, solitary farmers felt themselves under obligation to protect their neighbors in life, person and property. The "popular justice" of the mob or of its smaller and more efficient counterpart, the vigilance committee, gave rise to social attitudes which yielded but slowly to legal institutions. As these traditions have been modified, the area of the vigilantes and "white caps" has contracted.

Consequently, Raper finds the greatest concentration of lynching along certain "belated frontiers," consisting of the poorer and more sparsely settled counties, where churches, schools and a stabilizing tradition are least powerful. Such counties tend to fall below the general average of their respective states in wealth and culture. Here the method of mutual policing of the area still survives, the general poverty and backwardness retard the provision for adequate police protection and help to perpetuate the traditional disinclination of officers and citizens to request or even tolerate outside assistance, and the man-hunt still survives.

But here the man-hunt tradition coalesces with certain stereotyped attitudes toward the Negro as physically and morally unclean by nature, intellectually inferior and a potential rapist, to whom is due only such justice and kindness as his essential nature warrants. It is true that such attitudes are as widely disseminated as the Negro himself, but it is in the South that they are subject to the least challenge. As a result, lynching is becoming more and more a Southern and a racial phenomenon.

But even within the South the lynching complex varies with differing cultural backgrounds. On the belated frontiers, as in southeastern Georgia, or where there has been built up a tradition of "white man's towns" and "white man's counties," as in northern Texas and southern Oklahoma, or where the traditional racial hostility is rooted in the dispossession of the poor whites of their lands by slave competition and their forced migration to less desirable sections, as in the Piedmont, the lynchings may become mass affairs, participated in by thousands. Such lynchings degenerate into Saturnalia of brutality. The victim may be subjected to slow torture and mutilation before death, and the corpse to indescribable indignities afterward. Sometimes the climax is reached in a wholesale raid on the Negro quarter and the destruction of property on a large scale, as at Sherman, Texas, in May of 1930.

On the other hand, where the plantation tradition enters into the complex, as in the Black Belt, the Negro is relatively safer than elsewhere in the South. Here the mobs are small and operate with precision and dispatch. " . . . modified slave-time patterns still persist. . . . The Black Belt lynching is something of a business transaction. . . . The whites there, chiefly of the planter class and consciously dependent on the Negro for labor, lynch him to conserve traditional landlord-tenant relations rather than to wreak vengeance upon his race."

Into this study the prevailing "scientific" interpretation of lynching as a form of economic conflict fits indifferently well. Although economic elements are present here as elsewhere in society, lynching as a form of dealing with economic conflict is inconceivable apart from the traditional patterns of culture which enter into what has been called the lynching complex.

Neither do the facts fit recent social theorizing about the brutality of social conflict as due to moral man's struggling within the limitations of immoral society. The question of the elimination of lynching is rather one of moral society's ability to construct institutions of social control strong enough and methods of

education penetrating enough to prevent immoral man from perpetuating outmoded traditions in our culture. And to the solution of this problem such studies as Raper's point the way.

HOWARD E. JENSEN

WE RECOMMEND

Gandhi Versus the Empire. By Haridas T. Mazumdar. Universal Publishing Company. $3.50. Primarily a compilation of Gandhi's speeches and letters by an Indian Doctor of Philosophy who has spent much time in the United States, but who was in India at the beginning of the present non-coöperation campaign and was a member of Gandhi's famous band that marched to the sea. This volume furnishes an illuminating supplement to the Mahatma's autobiography and the interpretations by Charles F. Andrews. Nowhere else are so many recent documents on India available.

The Challenge of Mars. By Jessie Wallace Hughan. Privately published at 171 W. 12th St., N. Y. C. 35 cents. Those who have known Dr. Hughan only as Secretary of the War Resisters' League and an ardent Socialist author of prominence, may be surprised to discover that she possesses indubitable poetic gifts. Before the War her poetry received satisfying recognition; but the fight against strife has occupied her leisure time to the detriment of her poetic output. She has here, however, at the request of friends, brought together some of her earlier work, and added some poems of recent date. While her verse will require attention for poetic interest, it will especially reward pacifists; for many of the poems decimate the ranks of the war apologists, not least those which parody so deliciously the extravaganzas of war propagandists in the impertinent Lewis Carroll manner.

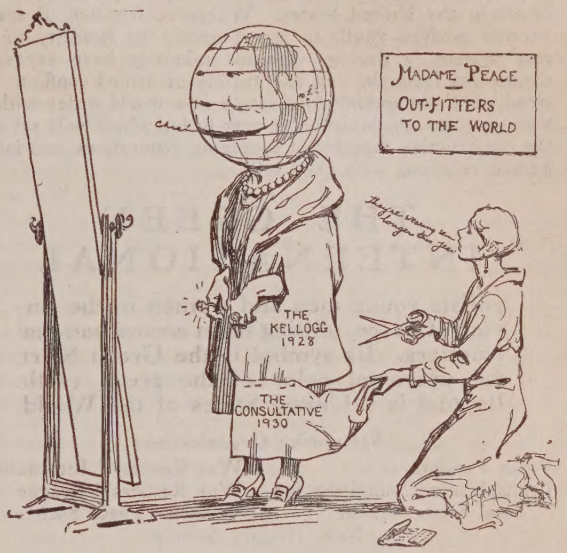
The Fight Against War. By Albert Einstein. Edited by Alfred Lief. John Day (pamphlet). 25 cents. A most interesting compilation of the remarks made in recent times against war by the great, and human, scientist. Einstein, as is well known, speaks with astonishing outspokenness, and yet his utterances are not mere diatribes. Many of his comments are profound and reveal an acute observation of current events for which one would think so busy a man would scarcely find the time.

The International Labor Office Year Book, 1931. A League of Nations publication. World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. $3.00. If there is anything which can counteract the utter cynic over the weaknesses of the League, it is this annual. For the work of the I.L.O., at times, has been perhaps the high water mark of the League, and it is usually done without hooplas or pats on the back.

Time to Live. By Gove Hambidge. Whittlesey House. $1.50. A city editor gets fed up with the pressure of routine involved in the scramble for a living, and becomes convinced that life should hold more of riches, culturally speaking. He throws up a good job and retires to a small piece of land, where he and his family find it possible, by free-lance writing and economical and scientific living to find, for the first time, leisure and the ways in which leisure may be enjoyed creatively. There's not an ounce of radical economics in the whole volume; but if there are as many people as we think whose nostrils hunger for the scents of outdoor life and freedom from the grind of a city or commuting existence, this is a revolutionary book!

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT CATCHES UP!

(This cartoon is reprinted from Women's Peace Society "News Letter," April, 1930)



PEACE-ING IT OUT

In March, 1930, after returning from the London Naval Conference, Mrs. Gray, Director of the Women's Peace Society, wrote the President and Press of the country, urging that "our delegation be instructed to accept the French 'Consultative Pact' proposal as the one hope of saving the Conference and frustrating the advocates of a billion dollar treaty Navy."

Three years later, April 25, 1933, William Philip Simms, Scripps-Howard Foreign Editor, Washington, D. C., wrote: "The President has indicated he will stand by his pledges to adhere to the World Court and strengthen the Kellogg Pact by a provision for CONSULTATION and CONFERENCE in case of threatened violations of treaties!"

SIR OR MADAM:—Do not you, as a loyal citizen, wish to help LEAD our nation into peaceful relations with our fellows of the world?

THE WOMEN'S PEACE SOCIETY

(Founded by the late Fanny Garrison Villard, Oct., 1919)

Invites you to

JOIN THE PACIFIST VANGUARD

MEMBERSHIP $1.00 OR MORE PER ANNUM

Non-Co-operation Pledge for both Men and Women

"Believing that under no circumstances is it right to take human life, I hereby apply for membership in the WOMEN'S PEACE SOCIETY pledging myself to further its high aims by every means in my power.

And I declare it to be my intention never to aid in or sanction war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, in any way, whether by making or handling munitions, subscribing to war loans, using my labor for the purpose of setting others free for war service, or helping with money or work any relief organization which supports or condones war."

Name.....

Address.....

Date..... *Enclosed $*.....

For further information address

MRS. ANNIE E. GRAY, Director, Women's Peace Society
20 Vesey St., New York City :-: BArclay 7-3865

If War Should Come, I'd Refuse!

The forthright declarations of British students against participation in war have been followed by similar statements in the United States. Wherever freedom of speech permits modern youth to assert openly its hostility to the war system, a daring, vigorous minority have separated themselves from the evil and futility of armed conflict. Instead, they are seeking to create a new world order without war or economic injustice, a new order which will set free the constructive capacity of oncoming generations and infuse human relations with good will.

THE GREEN INTERNATIONAL

enlists young men and women in the service of peace, uniting them across national frontiers. Its symbol is the Green Shirt, the universal color of the green earth. Its goal is a United States of the World.

Sponsoring Organizations

Peace Patriots
Pennsylvania Committee for Total Disarmament
War Resisters' International
War Resisters' League
Women's Peace Society
New History Society

Coöperating Organizations

Committee on Militarism in Education
Fellowship of Reconciliation

The Green International,
132 East 65th Street, New York, N. Y.

.....1933

Please send ..... shirts of preshrunk broadcloth at $1.35 apiece, which price includes postage.

Long ☐
Medium ☐ sleeve length collar size.....
Short ☐

☐ I enclose $ ..... in payment for ..... shirts, which price includes postage.

Mr., Mrs., Miss.....

Address .....

On returning this blank you will be enrolled as a member of The Green International.

Editor, The Green International Bulletin,
132 East 65th Street, New York, N. Y.

I enclose 50¢ (stamps or cash) for one year's subscription to the Bulletin.

NAME..... ADDRESS.....

The following may be interested:

Name	*Address*
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....

☐ I would like to organize a Green International Group on my campus or in my town.

☐ I would like to display the Green International poster. Please forward copy.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Institutes of International Relations

AS in previous summers, the American Friends' Service Committee will carry on this year several distinctive Institutes of International Relations. There will be no Institute this summer at Haverford College; but three will be held respectively at Wellesley College, Duke University, and Northwestern University. At the New England Institute, which will be held at Wellesley from June 22 to July 1, inclusive, lecturers and faculty members will be Robert A. Calhoun, Manley O. Hudson, Robert A. Millikan, Norman Thomas, Wilbur K. Thomas, George H. Blakeslee, Raymond Leslie Buell, Sidney B. Fay, Harry D. Gideonse, Roswell P. Barnes, Tucker P. Smith, Rachel Davis DuBois, Alexander C. Purdy and Devere Allen.

At Duke, lecturers and instructors will include Sidney B. Fay, John Emlyn Williams, Robert A. Millikan, Josiah Morse, Elbert Russell and Kirby Page. The Duke Institute will run from June 12 to 24, inclusive.

From June 19 to 30 the Northwestern Institute will operate with the following lecturers and faculty members: Jane Addams, George W. Blakeslee, Andrew W. Cordier, Bernard Fay, Harry D. Gideonse, W. O. Mendenhall, Tucker P. Smith, Ernest Fremont Tittle, E. Raymond Wilson, Mrs. Quincy Wright and J. Emlyn Williams.

At each Institute about 150 public and private school teachers, ministers, club leaders, theological seminary students, and others will be present. Many will take these courses preparatory to their own teaching work in conferences. Enrollment is proceeding rapidly, and any who still desire to attend but who have not registered should write to the Institute in which they are interested. Addresses are: for Wellesley, American Friends' Service Committee, New England Branch, 120 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.; for Duke, Prof. Elbert Russell, Dean of the School of Religion, Duke University, Durham, N. C.; for Northwestern, Mid-West Institute of International Relations, Room 902, 203 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Call to Action

THE National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism, a nationwide movement including workers' organizations of all categories as well as social, professional and political groups, has been formed, under the chairmanship of A. J. Muste, to provide aid for the victims of the German Fascist dictatorship. The Committee will endeavor to afford relief to the families left destitute by Nazi oppression and to the thousands of exiles and refugees scattered throughout Europe. Contributions and requests for further information should be directed to the offices of the committee, Room 5, 75 Fifth Avenue, N. Y.

Rand School Endangered

FOR 27 years the Rand School of Social Science in New York City has been proclaiming the message of socialism through classes, lectures, forums and various publications. Most of the leading liberals and radicals of the country have appeared under its auspices at various times. The institution's substantial contribution to the Socialist movement is now jeopardized by a critical shortage of funds, and a public appeal is being made for contributions. The honorary chairmen of the financial committee include Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit, John Haynes Holmes, B. Charney Vladeck, J. Weinberg, and Fiorello H. La Guardia. The address of the Rand School is 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

Who's Who in This Issue

Richard B. Gregg is the author of "The Psychology and Strategy of Gandhi's Non-Violent Resistance."

Max Press is a Brooklyn poet.

Stanton A. Coblentz, author of "Marching Men," has published several volumes of verse, including "The Lone Adventurer" and "Shadows on a Wall."

Thomas Wright is minister of the Gospel Congregational Church in Cresskill, N. J.

Howard E. Jensen is professor of sociology at Duke University.

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A REQUEST

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THE LAST WORD

WE seem to be a nation of hero-worshippers. Not only on the stage and screen, but in every field of activity we insist on the star system. And so, amid all the other devices to waste valuable time—or at any rate, time—such as the jig-saw puzzle and the gold standard, a number of otherwise public-spirited citizens have instituted a poll to decide on America's favorite tree. The elm is reported in the lead, with the white pine runner-up. But no histrionic progress comes from putting one player constantly on a pinnacle; and no respect for the woods and glens will develop from a contest for popularity.

As a matter of fact, we all have our sacred trees, as we ought; but the species has nothing to do with it. I can recall vividly the Connecticut tree, which I hope has long since withered, from which I plucked illicitly and ate far too avidly sundry immature apples, many years ago. There was once an ancient tree in the middle of a Rhode Island pond which I climbed, and out of a hole in which I extracted with atrocious disregard for the proprieties a swallow's egg, placing it in my mouth for safekeeping as I slid down to the boat; nor shall I forget the sensations that followed one another clamorously when the tree-trunk buckled and fell, depositing me in the bottom of the boat with jaws tightly clenched around the fragments of a well-developed embyro. There is, too, a tree on the banks of a sluggish Ohio stream under which I sat with Normala and laid certain cosmic plans. . . .

Such trees are, in fact, the only "best" ones; and all of us know of them, in our separate ways. Washington—or more likely, Parson Weems—had his historic tree; so did Newton; so did Penn and the Indians. Why can't the vulgarian standardizers let us have our trees in peace?

BUT no, the star system reigns supreme. Were it not for this animal gregariousness, this pack psychology in human nature, nevermore would the world have Hitlers. Here, too, comes in a basic defect of moral teaching: too long have we been told to exalt humility, too little have we been urged to seek egotism. While we can dispense with egocentric personalities, we need desperately among the masses bigger and better egos. "To thine own self be true" has been attributed to *Hamlet;* but it must have been one of Yahweh's first admonitions to the race. In Paul's second letter to Peter, the apostle worried over those who were "presumptious, self-willed, not afraid to speak evil of dignities." Jesus knew better; the only ones against whom he spoke bitterly *were* dignities—because, of course, no ordinary human being could achieve worth while the sons of men were ruled over by stuffed shirts and strutters.

That is why, possibly, I cannot respond to an appeal which has been sent out widely to Important People by an eagerly patriotic New Yorker. He wants me to "support the President in a spirit of American fair play," to "write Congressmen to support the President's measures," to "be optimistic, look for encouraging signs, and spread good news." Jesse Isidor Straus, I know, did this very thing in a series of paid full-page advertisements, and later was appointed Ambassador to France. But I don't want to be Ambassador to France. Nor do I desire to be a cog in a machine, a slave under a dictatorship, a yes-man, a stooge for the court jester, or even a sapling bent admiringly in the shade of a towering elm. What's more, I don't want anybody else to be, and while I don't put Mr. Roosevelt in the dictator class, he does occupy the popular limelight all too much.

Suns become less prideful when you take away their satellites. That is the only cure for stars. We need to breed people who can stand up to all dictatorial popinjays, who can declare, as did Demetrius in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: Speak? Surely one lion may, when so many asses do.

Eccentricus

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